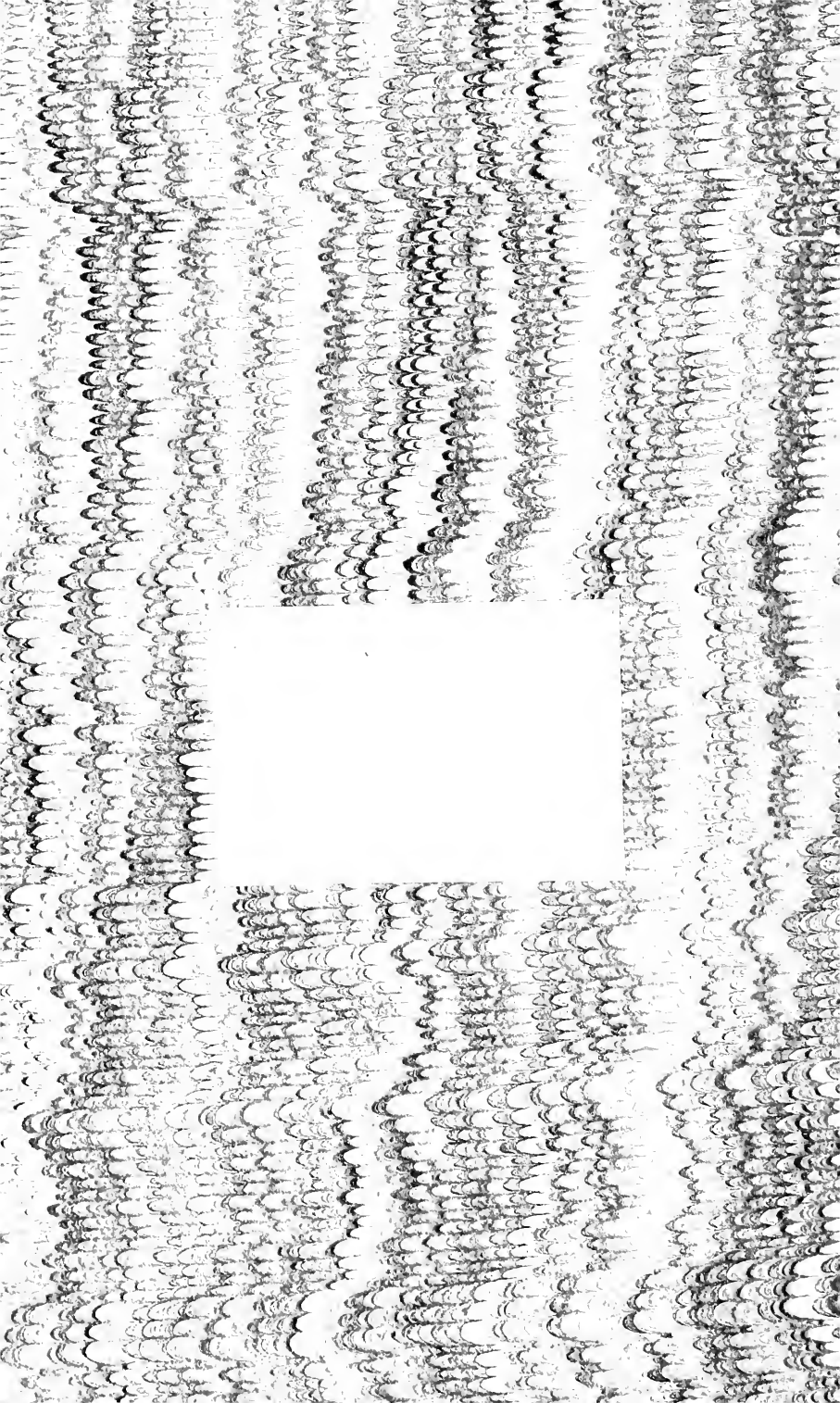
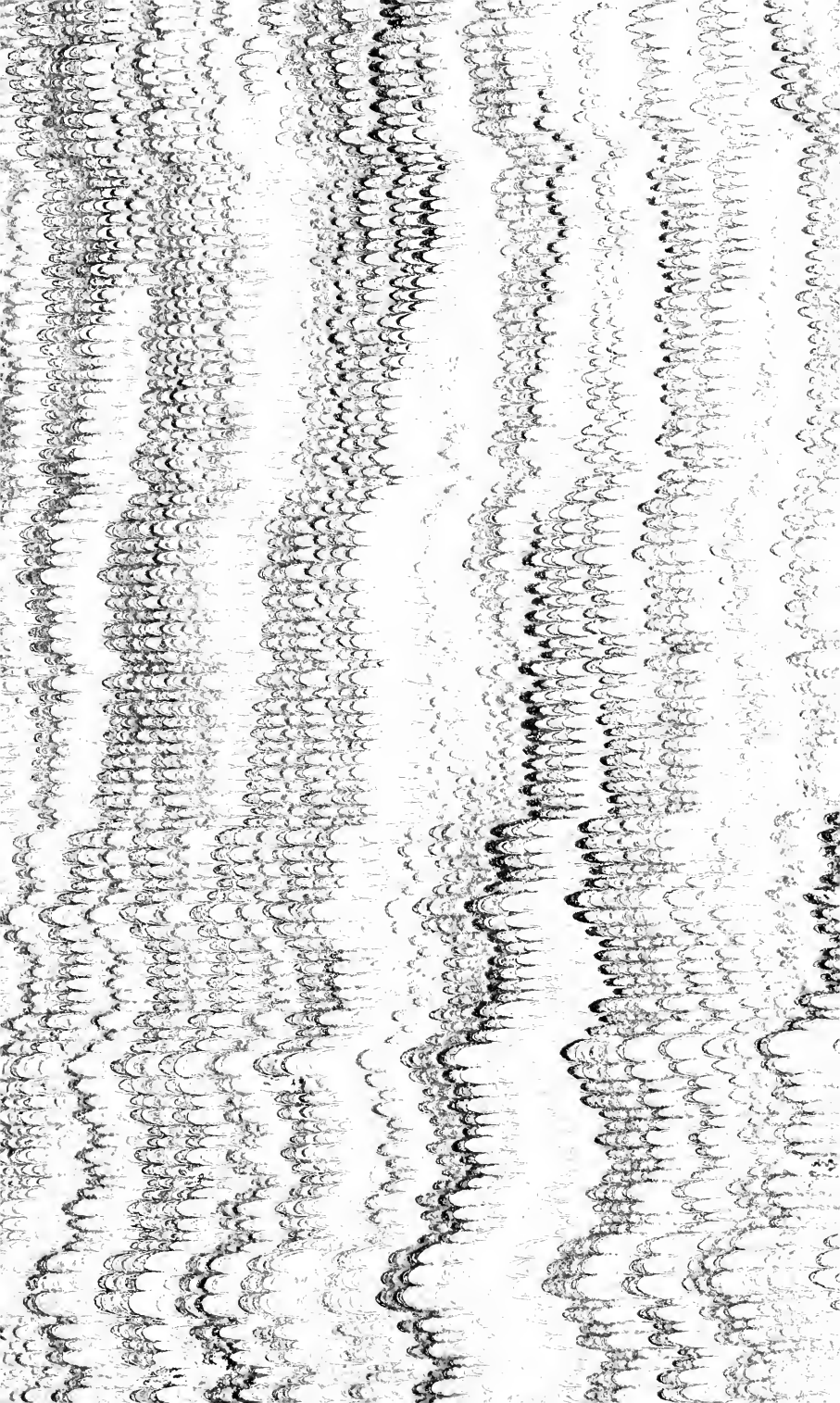


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*Chas. Sumner's letter  
from Sept. 1845.*

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# ADDRESS,

Pronounced at WORCESTER,

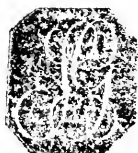
On MAY 22<sup>d</sup>, 1854,

In COMMEMORATION OF OUR LEMMON

LOUISIANA

TO THE UNITED STATES.

By SAMUEL BRALER, JR.,



PRINTED BY J. A. B. & C.

Printed at WORCESTER,  
J. SEWALL GOODRIDGE.

May 19<sup>th</sup>, 1854.



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AN  
ADDRESS.

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“**T**HERE is a *Spirit* in Man ; and the inspiration of the *Almighty* hath given him *Understanding* !” Happily for man, unhappily for the despot who oppresses, for the demagogue who deceives him, this *Spirit* rouses to resistance ;—this *Understanding* unveils the visage, and exposes the arts of ambition.—But when no arbitrary despot enthral, and no aspiring demagogue deludes ; when the wisdom and patriotism of the government are displayed in the peace and prosperity of the people ; when it is the proud employment of illustrious men,

“ To scatter *Plenty* o’er a smiling land,

“ And read their hist’ry in a nation’s eyes ;

the *Spirit* and the *Understanding* combine, to render to their rulers the willing homage of a glad and grateful people.

For this, Friends and Fellow-Citizens, we are here assembled. Had we convened to commemorate the day, which introduced to the world some fool or knave, whom Chance had made a *King*, or to consecrate the nativity of some idol or martyr of superstition, whom Hierarchy had dubbed a *Saint*, we might well strive to forget, in the tumult of unmeaning mirth, the occasion which prompted it, and to drown, in hollow acclamations, the source whence they arose. But we need not employ these arts of self-delusion. The festive

joy, which at this time electrifies our Fellow-Citizens, in every section of the continent, which at this moment riots in the breasts and glistens in the eyes of applauding millions, evinces that honest, heart-felt, *Republican* Gratitude, which does equal honor to those who receive, and those who proffer it. A recurrence to the motives of our hilarity will cause our hearts to thrill with livelier transport, and beat with added animation.

The event we celebrate, whether we regard merely its intrinsic consequence, or the mode in which it was produced, will well justify our joy and gratulation. The acquisition of the vast territory of *Louisiana*, in itself was a great, a wonderful achievement of wisdom and policy. The means, by which it was obtained, afford an honorable, an unprecedented example of magnanimity and justice.

The value of the acquisition is beyond doubt or dispute. The high estimation, in which it was once held by those, whom the spirit of party now induces to underrate and belittle it, furnishes unequivocal evidence of its magnitude. Before the object had been compassed, before success had given a sanction to the project, when the most sanguine of the votaries of hope were startled at the boldness of the enterprize ; at this time, the enemies of the government were loud in their assertions, that the attainment was of the first and greatest moment. They likened *Louisiana* to the *roc's* egg, in the Eastern Tale, to gain which no sacrifice could be too great, and in the attempt to gain which, they felt assured the Administration would incur defeat, disgrace and ruin. The injury,

which our "*Western-Brethren*" had sustained, by the unofficial encroachment of a subordinate *Spanish* officer, was described with affecting and pathetic earnestness. These *Western Inhabitants*, who, four short years since, were treated by these very men with every mark of indignity and insult, and loaded with every term of reproach, —these "*Whiskey-Boys*,"—these "*Offscourings of the earth*," —these "*Sweepings of creation*," were all at once, by the magic influence of party, converted into the dearly-beloved "*brethren*" of their former calumniators, and became subjects of the tender mercy and loving kindness of ROSS, MASON and MORRIS ! That the *United States* must possess the control of the navigation of the *Mississippi*, was stated as a settled and established point. To prevent the colonization of the country by the *French*, was declared an object of great and momentous concern. The Northern States were told, by these careful guardians of their rights and interest, that if the proposed colonization should be effected, their *Commerce* to the *West-Indies* would be materially injured, if not utterly destroyed. The dangers consequent on the vicinity of a great and enterprizing colony, were depicted in dark and frowning characters. The exuberant fertility of the soil, the delightful salubrity of the clime, were painted, in the richest and most brilliant colors, by the pencil of romance. In a word, we were told, that an adequate compensation for such an acquirement could scarce be conceived, that it was a prize worthy the loftiest ambition,—that the horrors of war were not to be shunned, when such an object was at stake.

THE justice of these statements was not contested; though the purity of the motives which produced them, was, with propriety, questioned. All parties agreed in the importance of the acquisition, and differed only in the means of securing it. In former negotiations, between sovereign powers, the *barter and exchange* had been blood for blood, the lives of thousands the "*valuable consideration*," and cannon-balls the *current coin*. In the codes of GROTIUS and VATTEL, we might be taught *National Law*, as founded on principles of equity, and prescriptions of justice. But, in the *Courts of St. James, Versailles or Vienna*, those practical schools of political science, the very rudiments were reversed. *Power* was substituted for *Right*, reasons of state for the dictates of conscience, and *Humanity* and *Honor* were struck out of the vocabulary.

WELL-versed in the maxims of European policy, our American disciples of the "Old-School," our "*Friends to Order and Steady Habits*," viewed the proposition for an amicable adjustment, as a most dangerous and dreadful "INNOVATION." The very idea was replete with "*Modern Philosophy*." The government were instantly accused of meanness of spirit, of cowardice and pusillanimity. An immediate declaration of hostilities was loudly demanded. *War ! WAR ! WAR !* was proclaimed with incessant clamor, by the *meek and pious* friends of the "Gospel of Peace and Reconciliation." They appeared, for a time, to have divided their rancour between the Administration and the Spaniards. Each Federal QUIXOTE was on tiptoe to post off to *New-Orleans*, and find *Wind-*



*Mill* Giants to fight with. Each Federal HOTSPUR, in loud and vaunting tones, exclaimed :

“ ————— Then let them come ;

“ And to the fire-eyed maid of smoaky war,

“ All hot and bleeding will we offer them.

“ The mailed MARS shall on his altar sit,

“ Up to the ears in blood.”

THE veteran heroes of *Harper's Ferry* and the *Oxford Encampment* were again to brighten their bayonets, to *eff*fect, not to repel invasion ; and the *invincible New-York General* was again to quit the Bar for the Camp, and drop his brief to take up a muster-roll. True, the event of a war was hazardous and uncertain ; the expense and the horrors certain and inevitable. But what then ? The failure of an attempt was a completion of their plan.— They well knew, that the expense of an armed force would be felt, and felt sensibly by the people. They knew also, from sad experience, that the administration, which raised a needless military force, gave a death-wound to its popularity. Every misfortune of the Government would have been to them a source of joy ; for every blot on its escutcheon would serve as a foil to their armorial bearings. A War, and an *unsuccessful War*, was a “ consummation devoutly to be wished,” for then might they hope to regain their lost popularity ; then might they expect to revive their dying influence. True—the bones of many a gallant soldier might bleach on the banks of the *Mississippi* ; the breast of many an orphan child might throb with the agony of paternal bereavement ; the tear of conjugal grief might bedew the cheek of

many a widowed mother. But these misfortunes would befall only the "*Swinish Multitude*." The "*well-born*," the "*Eugenis*," the "HOWARDS, and BURLEIGHS and SOMERSETS of our country" would find ample remuneration, in the offices and promotions, a war would provide for their dissolute descendants.

BUT vain alike were all their artful intrigues, and their boisterous clamors. Unbiassed by the one, unheeding the other, the Administration pursued the path of policy, with deliberate, determined and considerate energy. Disregarding the puny censure of disappointed partizans, despising the little malice of the slaves of faction, they consulted only the interest and honor of the nation : Like our "*first and greatest revolutionary character*," they evinced the rare courage to despise the imputation of cowardice; and to confide their vindication to the impartial verdict of their country and posterity. It is only on great and trying occasions, that such men display their brightest talents or their noblest qualities. Like the fabled gem of the *Ocean*, in the gairish sun-shine of prosperity, their lustre is a bright, but unheeded sparkle ; in the gloomy night of adversity, they shine and they enlighten. At the momentous crisis we commemorate, the Government disclaimed alike the blustering threats of a bully, and the pitiful whine of a suppliant. In a mild and moderate, but manly and determined tone, they demanded reparation of the wrong, and security against its future recurrence. While with one hand they proffered the peaceful olive-branch ; the other was nerved to unsheath the sword of vengeance.

THE success of their efforts we this day celebrate. By fair, honest, pacific, Republican measures, we have acquired possession of the fertile fields of *Louisiana* ; we have gained complete control of all the Western Waters ; and the Flag of the Union waves in triumph over the *Leveé of Orleans*.

BUT it is not merely the selfish consideration, that we have obtained possession of a city or a country, or the navigation of a river, that warrants our festive rejoicings. Our hearts dilate with nobler rapture and with new enjoyment, when we recollect, that, by this event, is opened a " WIDER SPREAD FOR THE BLESSINGS OF FREEDOM AND EQUAL LAWS !" A true Republican does not confine his regard to the narrow circle in which he may be placed. Enlisted in the holy cause of Freedom, he traces her progress with equal delight, whether she wantons in the luxuriant fields of *Italy*, or climbs the rugged heights of *Switzerland* ; whether her footsteps press the vine-clad hills of *France*, or the bleak mountains of *Norway* ; whether, to " *redress the rigors of the inclement clime,*" she scatters her dews on the arid plains of the Equator, or melts, with her fires, the frozen fetters of the pole ! To him, every advocate of the same glorious cause is a friend and a brother. He groups, with an eye of impartial admiration, the worthies of ancient and of modern days, who have fought under her banners. He views, with equal affection and respect, an EMMET on the scaffold, and a HANCOCK in the Chair of State ; a CAMILLUS in banishment, and a FAYETTE in prison ; a CA-

to on his sword, and a **BRISSET** under the guillotine ; a **CURRAN** defending the rights and lives of the victims of oppression, and a **JEFFERSON** protecting the peace and prosperity of the sons of liberty ; a **ROWAN**, bending his exiled steps from the land of his nativity, and a **WASHINGTON**, retiring to the scenes of his youth, laden with laurels, and escorted by the acclamations of his countrymen. Proud of a connection with the intrepid defenders of the *RIGHTS of MAN*, he regrets their excesses, and bewails their misfortunes. He laments that delirium of Freedom, which armed with daggers and with pikes the people of France, which erected the guillotine, which inscribed death and devastation in letters of blood on the banners of the *United Sons of Erin*, which clogged with carcasses the channel of the *Seine*, and crimsoned with blood the waves of the *Liffey* ! But still more does he detest the dark, designing, determined cruelty of despotism. For the one springs from great and ennobling motives—from the generous impatience of wounded honor, of irritated feeling, of honest zeal for “**OP-PRESSED HUMANITY.**” The other is the offspring of cold, jealous, malicious cowardice, of conscious villainy. The one consigns its victims to a certain and inevitable fate, from the warm and unreflecting impulse of excited passion. The other imposes the torture of suspense and the horror of anticipation. Or when promiscuous slaughter is decreed by the dark *Conclave* of Tyranny, she mingles with the bloody obsequies of murder, the solemn mockery of devotion. She chaunts the

sacred hymn of Gratitude to God,\* while the shrieks of the massacred fill every pause of the choral rites of hypocrisy. She raises to *Heaven* with all the affectation of praise and prayer, hands but just imbrued in the blood of immolated innocence !

FELLOW-CITIZENS ! In the occasion of our joy, we anticipate neither the excesses of Liberty, nor the horrors of Tyranny. We rejoice, that an Empire of Laws is about to be established ; that mild, social, rational *Freedom* is about to pervade a widely-extended territory ; that *Despotism* and his minions are expelled from this fair *American Eden*, and that the “ cherubim ” are posted, and the “ flaming sword, which turneth every way ” is suspended, to prevent their return.

AND while we offer to our Rulers our tribute of applause, for this instance of their wisdom and patriotism, let us not forget, that this is but one of a series of meritorious services ; that they have labored incessantly, hon-

\* THE name of CATHERINE II, late *Empress* of the *Russias*, reminds us of all that is base in treachery, or diabolical in cruelty. She appears to have existed, merely to convince the world, that it is the blasting and destructive effect of a *Crown* to take away, not only all that is humane and honorable in a man, but all that is lovely and attractive in a female. When the *Monster* SUWARROW, a fit agent of this “ *She-wolf of the North*,” had sacked the city of *Warsaw*, and ten hours after all resistance had ceased, set fire to the city, consumed in the flames the sick and wounded, and in cold blood put to the sword all the other inhabitants, including old men, women and children, to the number of *nine thousand* : In commemoration of this *happy* event, this *pious* Princess set apart a day of solemn Thanksgiving to God, and ordered “ *Te Deum* ” to be sung in all the churches.

estly and successfully for the public good ; that they have thus justly acquired the praise, the esteem, the support of every friend to his country. The foul and withered hand of *Envy* has been extended to pluck the wreath of glory from their brows. But—IN VAIN ! There will it bloom in perennial verdure, unblasted by the pestilential breath of slander, or the chill frost of ungrateful neglect. The darts of calumny, like the arrows of *Kernes*, may, for a time, darken the atmosphere of reason ; but when aimed at such exalted characters, the “ strong breast-plate of a heart ungainted,” blunts and repels them.

“ If there be any in this assembly, any inveterate foe to the great and good men, to whom we have confided the destinies of our nation ; any, who with the violence of heated invective, or the cunning of cautious malignity, assails their characters and traduces their actions ; let him withdraw from the festivities of this day, and seek, in some gloomy retirement, a scene more congenial with the color of his soul. Let him not damp, even with a look of distrustful jealousy, the high and buoyant tenor of our joys.

AND for you, *REPUBLICANS* ! you, who decided and undeviating, have adhered to the principles of our *Glorious Revolution*, who have never “ defiled your garments,” who have “ held fast your integrity,” and remained firm and unshaken amidst the obloquy, the contempt and derision, to which you were exposed, during the “ *reign of terror* ;” *DISCIPLES* of *FREEDOM* ! who endured the oppression of *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, for

her sake, witnessed her *Crucifixion*, watched at her *Sepulchre*, and awaited her *Resurrection* ; suffer not your success and your triumph to lull your watchfulness, or to paralyze your energies. Let not the fortress, you have acquired by your valor, be lost by your listlessness, or betrayed by your false security. Inattention to your highest concerns admits of no palliation. Interest, passion, or prejudice may incite your opponents to their ceaseless warfare against *Truth* and *Republicanism*. But for an indolent and indifferent neglect of duty, there is no excuse. No motive can be assigned, which is not humiliating to you, and treacherous to your country !

“ *Who is not with us, is AGAINST us :—and whose GATHERETH not, SCATTERETH !* ”

NEVER had a cause nobler inducements to offer ;—never had a cause better or more brilliant prospects. The *Sun of Republicanism* has grown brighter and brighter, almost unto perfect day ! Already it shines with full-orb'd splendor, on the mountains of *Hampshire*. Already has it “ *tipt, with its rising beams,* ” the hundred hills of *Massachusetts*. Soon may every portion of our Fellow-Citizens and our Fellow-Men bask in its meridian rays ! Soon may that glorious political Millennium arrive, when every knee shall bow to the MAJESTY of the PEOPLE, and every tongue confess their SOVEREIGNTY ! !



E N D.



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*POSTSCRIPT.*

[A FEW sentences, in the 14<sup>th</sup> page of the preceding performance, were extracted from a former news-paper publication of the Author. Whether or not, this be plagiarism, he leaves to critical casuists to determine.]

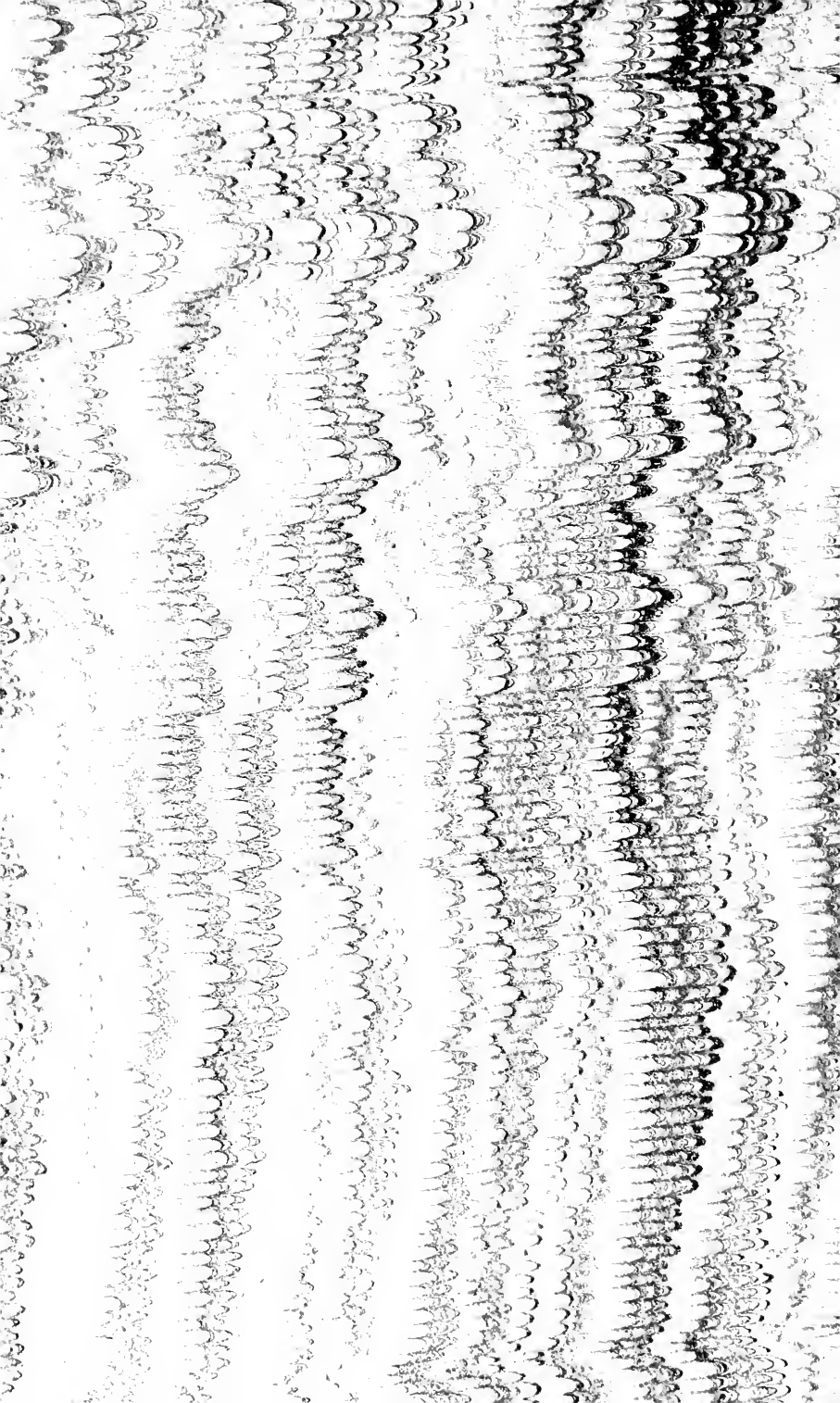
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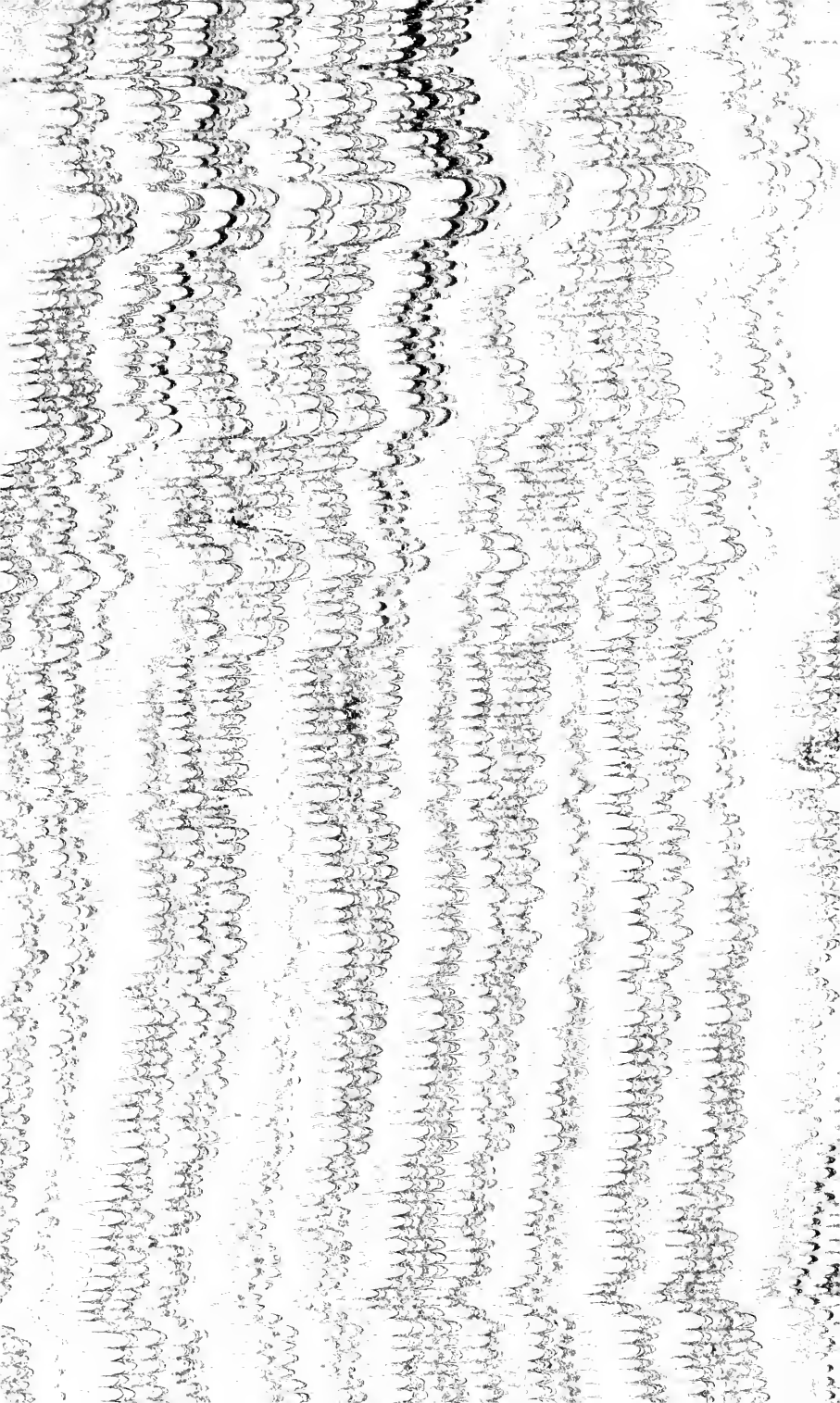












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